



Review

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managers. This historical grounding helps Roper avoid treating masculinity in a categorical way.

The book's strength is at the same time its weakness. Roper's focus on one generation makes it difficult for him to marshal evidence for his statements that these organization men are different from the managers that preceded and followed them. For example, he amply documents organization men's fetish for company products but presents less convincing evidence of how this resembled or contrasted with the feelings other generations of managers had toward their products. Further, although his data support his theory that organization men exclude capable women in shoring up an embattled masculinity, we are left with little insight into why family capitalists barred women from managerial careers and why the new business-school generation continues to resist the inclusion of women in senior management.

While Roper corrects the tendency of most sociologists to ignore managers' emotions and sexuality, he sometimes goes overboard in seeing gender significance almost everywhere. He tends to overdetermine organization men's beleaguered masculinity and to see it as influencing almost every statement. For example, he interprets working-class managers' confessions that they hide their fear of defeat as evidence of the masculine cult of toughness (pp. 115–16). Instead, one could see these statements as expressions of the challenges of leadership, whether faced by men or women. Other statements that he interprets as indicating erotic bonds between managers could be read as simply expressing human warmth (e.g., p. 137).

Nonetheless, Roper's book remains an impressive piece of research. His interviewing skills elicited sensitive and illuminating data. He grounds his nuanced interpretation of life histories in British economic history. The book's emphasis on the cultural and psychological dimensions of gender inequality will influence future research on gender and organizations.

Cinderella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender, and Women's Movements in East Central Europe. By Barbara Einhorn. London: Verso, 1993. Pp. viii + 280. \$59.95 (cloth); \$17.95 (paper).

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Amidst a burgeoning literature on gender and economic transition, this book is the first to my knowledge to survey the full gamut of change in east central Europe from a feminist perspective, with the aim of making theoretical and comparative sense of postcommunism. Edited collections that offer fascinating country-specific accounts and serve as a forum for women from the region are more typical. In contrast, this book tackles

the big questions head-on, in detail, and with a wealth of comparative information. It succeeds in presenting both a cogent summary and informed, balanced interpretations. Einhorn is well versed in the theoretical issues at stake; she draws on historical and contemporary sources, on personal interviews, and on literary as well as social science material to illustrate her points. But what makes the book truly exciting is the rich set of theoretical ideas that shape the discussion.

Did socialism aim to emancipate women but simply fail? Or was the promise of gender equality only rhetoric and illusion? Will the “woman question” always be the last, unresolved issue for citizenship rights? Why are women now losing the jobs, political positions, and economic status they earned under socialism? Is there an internal logic to emerging discourses—whether nationalist or liberal—that inherently disenfranchises women relative to men? And why are Eastern European women so “allergic to feminism,” while seemingly unable to mobilize in their own interest? Starkly framed, these questions embody a certain Western bias; they have, however, become fundamental to the East-West dialogue. Einhorn addresses them with care, insight, and thoughtfulness; the result is a book that must be taken seriously in all future work.

By citizenship, Einhorn means more than democratic elections or social entitlements. Rather, empowerment and the capacity for agency within a transformed civil society are central, ideals that were common among the former opposition movements. It is not yet clear to what extent the new postcommunist governments will enable citizens, be they male or female, to realize such goals; apparently, the heady attainment of political sovereignty comes first. With vivid examples, Einhorn presents the political and economic dilemmas shared throughout the region, while being sensitive to the distinctions among countries. One could fault the book for premature crisis mongering; I believe, however, that Einhorn is prescient. Pulling the plug on state socialism, at least at the outset, appears to mean losing the bath, the baby, and much of the plumbing.

The public/private distinction acquired a different meaning under state socialism than in the West. Private life was a political category, to be sure, but the concept included everything opposed to state control. For both men and women, family life and informal social networks represented a sanctuary from the state and a major source of personal freedom and autonomy. The private sphere became a base for political opposition and an idealized alternative to the command economy. Family and friends were extremely important, both objectively and subjectively, for acquiring consumer goods, for sharing information, and for simply surviving. Women “manned” the household and network nodes that kept this system functioning. The fact that such relationships are now less necessary diminishes women’s influence. Privatization has become a gendered concept. For men it means entrepreneurship, for women domesticity. Understanding how these meanings evolved, however, helps to explain why many women romanticize home life without paid employment, even or especially when this is not a viable option.

The “allergy” to Western-style feminism is widespread and difficult to understand. State socialism rendered women’s issues obsolete or part of a utopian future that could be implemented only under communism. Compulsory labor force participation did not emancipate women in Eastern Europe; as in the West, women had double burdens and the “second shift.” Women felt themselves to be equal to men, however, because of their mutual oppression and lack of power. Child-care and maternity benefits were taken for granted; now they are rejected as part of a paternalistic package or as far too costly. Although women held many more political positions under socialism than at present, “tokenism” without power is now repudiated. Although the loss of reproductive rights met with substantial organized opposition, reversing these policies has proved difficult.

For feminists the critical question is What has been unleashed here and who is responsible? There are many potential villains: an aggressively political church; nationalist rantings; liberal, antistate policies that aim to dismantle the public sector. Each is partly to blame for the sudden increase in gender inequality, but as Einhorn acknowledges, too few women have fought the trends. Postsocialist media images verge on the utopian. Western television celebrates both consumerism and sexuality, in a manner that seems coarse and even vulgar when compared to the aesthetics (and ascetics) of socialism. Goods are equated with the good life; amazement and envy for the apparent universality of washing machines eclipses the question of who actually does the wash. Einhorn is skeptical that women will retreat to domestic roles or be convinced to worship at the altar of nationhood and bear larger families; at the same time, the drift is ominous. As in the West, women are more likely to be unemployed, and when employed they still tend to work for the state.

East-West confrontations have a way of challenging the conceptions of Western feminists as well. The antipathy to feminism is, at least in part, an aversion to individualism. An example will suffice. At the end of one of the first women’s studies courses ever offered in Poland, the instructor was approached by an articulate young woman who solemnly announced that she could not accept the goals of the feminist movement, “‘because the moral and ethical foundations are flawed.’ ‘What do you mean?’ asked the astonished instructor. ‘American feminism is based on seeking pleasure and choice,’ responded the student quickly. ‘And what should the ethical foundation be?’ asked the instructor, taken aback. ‘Self-sacrifice and an obligation to help others.’” Sorting out such moral and philosophical issues is important for politics and for feminism. This book is a good beginning for this task.